LOS ANGELES FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

*

Articles published and certain addresses

delivered during the year 1937

*

by

BYRON C. HANNA

President, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

LOS ANGELES FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

*

Articles published and certain addresses

delivered during the year 1937

*

by

BYRON C. HANNA

President, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce

Permission to reprint any part, or parts, of the contents of this booklet is hereby given, with or without credit to the author, Byron C. Hanna.

Table of Contents

Page

Excerpt from address at annual banquet, February 22, 1937 . . 5

Article published in Southern California Business, March, 1937 . 7

Article published in Southern California Business, April, 1937 . 10

Letter published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, April 12, 1937 13

Article published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, April 19, 1937 15

Article published in Southern California Business, May, 1937 . . 18

Article published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, May 24, 1937 20

Article published in Southern California Business, June, 1937 . 22

Article published in Southern California Business, July, 1937 . 24

Article published in Southern California Business, August, 1937 . 26

Article published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, August 23, 1937 28

Pamphlet printed and circulated by Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, August 20, 1937 30

Article published in Southern California Business, November, 1937 33

Article published in Southern California Business, December, 1937 35

Address at meeting at Biltmore Hotel called by Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and Southern Californians, Inc., December 13, 1937 38

Foreword

The year 1937 has witnessed an intense campaign to subject employers, employees, and business in Los Angeles to the domination of labor union bosses, some of whom have conducted their operations with well defined racketeering policies.

The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce has vigorously utilized its facilities to protect the community against this invasion. Numerous meetings of various groups of employers were convened at the Chamber of Commerce for the purpose of discussing labor problems and encouraging employers to readjust salary schedules and working conditions so that there could be no just complaint on these subjects. This work involved holding one or two meetings a week over a period of several months. These meetings resulted in improving conditions of employment, removing causes for complaint, and strengthening our position to resist closed shop or racketeering demands.

In addition to numerous articles published and addresses delivered, reprints of which are contained in the following pages, approximately fifty different meetings and organizations of citizens have been addressed during the year upon this important subject by the undersigned.

This period of activity stimulated the formation by citizens of Los Angeles of an organization named Southern Californians, Inc. This organization gives every promise of developing the ability to effectively protect the freedom of citizens in this community.

BYRON C. HANNA,

President, Los Angeles
Chamber of Commerce.

Labor Problems

(Excerpt from address at annual banquet of Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, February 22, 1937.)

We are today confronted with labor problems so acute as to threaten the continued prosperity and growth of this community.

Los Angeles has always been a community in which every citizen could choose employment of his own selection without the necessity of paying tribute to any organization. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association has been the instrumentality specifically constituted to maintain these conditions.

The Chamber of Commerce has consistently worked in cordial co-operation with the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association and has supported its efforts to maintain working conditions in this community involving free and equal opportunity to every citizen. We have always advocated the payment of liberal wages, the maintenance of good working conditions, and the fair treatment of employees. It is of vital importance today that these policies be sedulously pursued.

We have no criticism of labor leaders who have sincerely and by lawful methods endeavored to improve the conditions of the working people. In recent major labor disturbances it has been evident, however, that wages, hours of labor, and working conditions were not subjects of substantial disagreement. They have constituted merely a smoke screen behind which left-wing agitators have sought to establish a dictatorship not only over industry but over labor as well. The objective is sinister enough, but the strategy employed is worse. In each instance the method has been to institute a siege of terrorism involving contemptuous defiance of the law and acts of physical violence and brutality committed by hoodlum mercenaries assembled for the occasion. If these methods be permitted to succeed, or even be tolerated, no citizen or property will be secure from this type of depredation.

It would unduly prolong this address and be inappropriate at this time to engage in a discussion of all of the ramifications of our labor problem. It seems highly desirable, however, in view of the critical conditions now existing, to declare certain elementary principles which merit the support of all citizens:

First, the proclamation in the Declaration of Independence

that "all men are * * * endowed by their Creator with" the "unalienable rights" of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness," was the expression of an immutable and eternal truth. This was true then and is equally true today. The rights, so declared, necessarily include the right of every citizen to work at such employment and upon such terms as he may choose, free from the interference or dictation of any private organization or individual. These rights must be preserved and respected in this community.

Second, the unlawful use of force and violence and the unlawful seizure of private property which have become manifest as the approved policies of aggression of certain radical labor agitators constitute a portentous challenge to the authority of established government.

Our citizens are directly confronted with these alternatives: we will have either the supremacy of a government of law and order, or the supremacy of unprincipled petty tyrants practicing brutality, terrorism, and extortion.

Between these alternatives there can be but one choice for all loyal citizens. Peace and order must be maintained. Observance of law must be inflexibly required of all persons. The absolute and unqualified rule of established government must be unequivocally asserted and enforced.

Third, the people of this community cannot afford to permit the progress and prosperity in store for all, as a result of the opportunity that now exists for all, to be dissipated and destroyed by the activities of a minority seeking the special privilege by lawless methods of dominating the lives of their fellow men.

To the support of these principles we pledge our continued faithful and persistent efforts. We believe that by the co-operation of the Chamber of Commerce with the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association an order of employer-employee relationship can be maintained in this community which will truly reflect the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and be productive of profit and happiness to employer and employee alike.

Whose Harbor Is It?

(Article published in Southern California Business, March, 1937.)

If there be anyone who doubts the purpose of the picketing at the harbor docks, the following quotation from The Bremerton Journal, one of the leading labor organs of publicity in the State of Washington, should prove instructive. In heralding the descent of Mr. Dave Beck on Los Angeles, this paper said:

"At last Los Angeles has need of facing the facts, that its growth has largely been the result of its chiseling ability to live off the under-privileged and underpaid workers.

"Los Angeles for years has been getting eastern factories and enterprises on the promise of slave wages. An open-shop city of unorganized workers and highly organized Chamber of Commerce. This wage chiseling was done to secure these eastern enterprises for the City of Angels, taking them away from San Francisco, Portland and Seattle. These latter cities are American. Based on fair profits for the employer and decent working and living conditions for the employees.

"Now Los Angeles' days of slavery and chiseling prosperity seem doomed. Dave Beck announced in his Bremerton speech that shortly he expects to leave for Los Angeles, there to organize the city. Some job—but some man, also. Beck has spent the past 2 years getting Los Angeles organized up to its back door and soon he will paraphrase that old song, 'Southern California Here I Come!' "

We need waste no space in refuting the obviously false aspersions on Los Angeles in this article. The strategy, however, pursued by Mr. Beck and his followers is worthy of attention. The truck drivers are engaged in an activity of transportation indispensable to the industry and commerce of the community. By reason of that fact they occupy a controlling key position in our business activities. If they can be placed on a closed shop basis, the conquest of employees and employers in other lines of business would be a simple matter.

No longer would it be necessary for organizers to follow the tedious course of soliciting individual employees to join the union. That task would be imposed on the employer. Under the threat of stopping shipments and deliveries, employers would be compelled to unionize their own employees, and more,

to collect the dues and pay them over to the union! The crucial aspects of the situation thus presented can hardly be over-stated.

Now note the procedure that has been followed to date. There is no strike among the truck drivers and no dispute between the trucking companies and their employees. Present activities are directed against the employees—to force them to join the union against their will. To that end a picket line has been established at the docks to intimidate non-union drivers from transporting freight to or from the docks. Thus the employees, and not the employers, are the immediate target of this attack.

As evidence of the impudent intrusion represented by this picketing, we are reliably informed that less than 35% of the pickets are members of the Teamsters Union. The others are mercenaries employed for the occasion. Of those who are members of the Teamsters Union, only a small number have been employed on trucks in this vicinity. Thus a handful of outsiders are attempting to establish a reign of tyranny over the truck drivers and helpers, and in turn over the commerce and industry of a great city.

It must be observed that these operations are not wholly without the possible prospect of profit. There are approximately 27,000 truck drivers, helpers and swampers in Southern California who might be hi-jacked into the union if the present drive should prove successful. With an initiation fee of $10 and dues of $2 per month, per head, the initiation fees might be made to yield $270,000, and the dues $54,000 per month. Even if the initiation fee should be waived, an enterprise yielding aggregate dues of $54,000 per month certainly is not entirely devoid of opportunity for personal enrichment.

Our harbor and its docks were built with public funds for the public use and benefit, but Mr. Dave Beck, of Seattle, and his associates would convert them into facilities of special privilege for members of the Teamsters Union exclusively.

To accomplish that purpose, non-union citizens of Los Angeles, in the peaceable pursuit of their daily employment, are chased off the docks of our city with a barrage of threats of violent brutality hurled by a motley throng of irresponsible mercenaries!

The trucking companies are courageously bearing the brunt of this attack. They should be given the active support and

cooperation of every citizen who believes in preserving industrial freedom in this community. It is a source of regret to learn that occasionally shipping clerks will ask for union drivers to handle shipments. To do this gives direct comfort and support to the picketing activities at the docks. You cannot afford to make such a concession unless you are prepared to surrender your business and your employees to the despotic rule of a self-constituted labor dictator.

Our city has grown great upon the fundamental and unimpeachable American principle of free opportunity for all. By standing solidly together, the citizens in this community who believe in that principle can maintain Los Angeles as a city of industrial freedom and the future rewards of such an order, to every citizen, employee and employer alike, will be greater even than those we have enjoyed in the past.

You can make your influence effective by giving your active encouragement to the truck operators and your active support to the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

Freedom or Vassalage?

(Article published in Southern California Business, April, 1937.)

This community has enjoyed peace and progress by maintaining the right of every individual to work without annoyance or molestation, irrespective of membership or non-membership in any union or similar organization.

Today a concerted effort is being made by selfish interlopers to destroy this right and to establish, by pretending to advance the welfare of the workers, the arbitrary rule of such interlopers as self-constituted labor despots over employer and employee alike. The employee is not to be permitted to work except by the sanction and grace of labor over-lords. (Since those making these demands are free from legal regulation or restraint, they may arbitrarily disqualify any worker for employment, even though he join the union, by terminating his affiliation or substituting another, who is the object of special favor, in his position.)

The employer must close the door of employment and turn out into the street all employees who refuse to bow their heads to this condition of vassalage. He is to surrender the essential power to dismiss incompetent employees without the approval of the labor over-lords. He is to be denied a choice in filling vacancies and must servilely accept the nominees of the labor over-lords. He must become the monitor of union membership in his own business and ultimately the agent of the union to collect the tribute of dues and assessments levied against his own employees. Such are the objectives of the activity referred to. These are the incidents of the closed shop, preferential hiring and the check-off. The conditions described are by no means an idle fantasy. They have occurred in other communities. They can, and will, occur here unless employers and employees alike unite in defense of the common freedom of mankind.

The success of many businesses rests upon the skillful selection of employees. Such enterprises and the welfare of those now employed by them would be gravely menaced by such a feudal system of labor over-lords as the closed shop would entail. Also many businesses depend for successful operation upon the loyalty, industry and efficiency of the employees. What encouragement would be offered for these indispensable attributes if the employees held their positions or received

recognition solely by reason of the favor of a labor over-lord?

Labor unions and similar organizations, being creatures of human control, are subject to all of the common vices of humanity. All too frequently where the closed shop has prevailed, these vices have manifested themselves in grievous injustices to workers. Competent employees have been denied work or displaced in favor of others in whom some labor official was specially interested. Extortionate dues and assessments have been levied and collected. Funds of organizations have been misappropriated to the personal profit of officials. Organizations have been turned into instruments of oppression of the members for the selfish benefit of unscrupulous leaders, and the same tactics of brutality and violence originally used to force membership on workers have been effectively employed to suppress protests.

The unfortunate tendency of labor unions under closed shop conditions to become implements of extortion in the hands of unconscionable labor bosses has been demonstrated by public trial over and over again.

The only protection the worker can have against these abuses is to maintain, with strict fidelity, his right to work in peace, irrespective of membership or non-membership in any union. In fact, the preservation of such right would be a healthy safeguard for the unions, since it would do much to protect the unions against excesses which may ultimately destroy them.

While it is not to be anticipated that labor leaders who may expect to profit from power to be acquired under the closed shop will agree to this, it is not too much to hope that intelligent leadership will develop upon the principle expressed by the late Samuel Gompers in his final address as follows:

"I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion."

Labor leadership at this time devoted to such a principle would confer an enduring benefit upon both employee and employer.

Every employee has the right of free and voluntary choice between joining or not joining a union or organization for collective bargaining. This must be conceded by all. To deny this would be equivalent to asserting that a group of private individuals have the right to govern other individuals without

authority of law. The use of threats, intimidation or terrorism to compel an employee to join a union or organization for collective bargaining is an insufferable invasion of the freedom of the worker.

It is not surprising that it should be found necessary in support of the effort to establish the closed shop and its incidents, to resort to violence, brutality and intimidation. Surely reason and logic, as well as experience, summarily condemn the closed shop. Certainly intelligent workers would not be peacefully persuaded to put their necks under the iron heel of boss tyranny that the closed shop necessarily involves.

The important point is that the resort to such methods constitutes a confession of the iniquity of the purpose. A meritorious cause does not require such expedients. No one can excuse or justify the use of brutality and lawlessness.

The fact must be recognized that deliberate lawlessness is in truth willful warfare against organized society. It is a virulent pestilence that rapidly assumes epidemic proportions if not promptly controlled.

It is imperative that employers, employees and the public unite in solid opposition to the use of threats, intimidation, terrorism, brutality and lawlessness. The demand is emergent that the violation of law and order and the contemptuous defiance of established government be sternly and emphatically suppressed.

There was a time when the people of this nation were galvanized into action with the declaration, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute." This declaration should be resurrected and nailed to the masthead of this community as a symbol of earnest consecration to the preservation of freedom. It would be a fitting answer to activities now prevailing.

The Answer to Terrorism

(Letter published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, April 12, 1937.)

April 3, 1937

MR. GEORGE M. DUNTLEY,
President, Pacific Freight Lines,
Los Angeles, California
Dear Sir:

We understand that a campaign was started last Wednesday by men who have not at any time been in your employ to compel drivers of trucks in your employ to join the Teamsters Union and to force you to refuse to employ any driver who is not a member of the Teamsters Union and to discharge from your employ all drivers who decline to join the Teamsters Union.

We are further advised that this campaign has been conducted by threats and intimidation directed against truck drivers in your employ and yourself, and that more recently some of the truck drivers in your employ have been persuaded by these methods to join in this activity.

We understand that no question of wages or hours of labor is involved and that the sole questions presented are:

First, shall truck drivers in your employ be compelled by threats, intimidation, and terrorism, to join the Teamsters Union against their will; and,

Second, shall you be compelled to employ only truck drivers who are members of the Teamsters Union and to discharge and refuse to employ all others?

We emphatically denounce the use of threats, intimidation, and terrorism in activities of this nature as constituting a form of tyranny and lawlessness that cannot be tolerated under our form of government. Such activities violate the liberties of workers and represent an attempt to set up a despotic government of self-constituted labor dictators superior to our established form of government.

We believe that every worker has the right to freely and voluntarily join a union or other organization for collective bargaining, and conversely that every worker has an equal right to refuse to join such union or organization without the penalty of intimidation or coercion.

We believe that every citizen has the inalienable right to work without being subjected to threats, intimidation, or terror-

ism, and irrespective of whether he chooses to belong or not to belong to any union. This right is an essential element of the freedom of our citizens and must be preserved.

We believe also that every employer must have the right to select employees, irrespective of the question as to whether they belong or do not belong to a union. It is utterly repugnant to American ideals to attempt to compel an employer to deny employment to any worker because such worker does not have the sanction of some self-constituted labor boss or of some private organization.

Fundamental as we believe these principles to be, they have even greater force when applied to the occupation of a public utility engaged in transporting freight over the public highways of this state. These highways were built at public expense for the benefit of the entire public. Every citizen has the right, subject to the regulations that may be established by law, to utilize these highways for the purpose of earning a living by transporting freight, either on his own account or as an employee of another. To deny that right is to attempt to convert the highways of this state into instrumentalities of private monopoly for the special benefit and privilege of private individuals or private organizations.

We believe these principles are unimpeachable. We commend you for conforming to these principles in your operations and we urge you to continue that policy. We are gratified to know that you have received such a degree of public support as to permit you to maintain your service without curtailment and that you are operating in a normal manner. We assure you of our entire support and we confidently believe that all good citizens will sustain you in conforming to these principles.

Very truly yours,

MERCHANTS AND MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION.
By S. M. Haskins, President.
LOS ANGELES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.
By Byron C. Hanna, President.

The Wagner Act

(Article published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, April 19, 1937.)

The decisions of the Supreme Court sustaining the validity of the National Labor Relations Act, commonly referred to as the Wagner Act, should not disturb the relations of employers and employees in this community.

The decisions give a broad interpretation to the scope of interstate commerce, but such interpretation is nevertheless in line with well-settled principles previously enunciated. The court still recognizes the distinction vitally important for many purposes between interstate commerce and intrastate commerce.

This distinction, we think, however, should prove of little practical consequence in the application of the Wagner Act to employer-employee relationship. We believe that most of our employers have been voluntarily conforming to the principles of the Wagner Act, both in interstate and intrastate employer-employee relationships, and that as a practical matter there will be no difference between the attitude of interstate and intrastate employers towards the subject of collective bargaining.

Can Bargain Collectively

The Wagner Act gives employees the right of self organization and to form or join labor organizations and to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. It requires, however, that the collective bargaining agency represent a majority of the employees in the establishment. It prohibits an employer from interfering with or restraining or coercing employees in the matter of organization of collective bargaining agencies or joining such agencies. It prohibits employers from dominating any collective bargaining agency or contributing financial or other support to it.

Forbids Discrimination

It prohibits an employer from discriminating against an employee on account of membership or non-membership in any labor organization. It requires an employer to bargain collectively with the representatives of a majority of his employees.

IT MUST BE NOTED THAT THE WAGNER ACT DOES NOT:

(1) REQUIRE THE EMPLOYER TO MAKE A CON-

TRACT OR AGREEMENT WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF HIS EMPLOYEES; or,

a. ESTABLISH A CLOSED SHOP; or

b. AGREE TO PREFERENTIAL HIRING; or,

c. AGREE TO THE CHECK-OFF;

(2) AUTHORIZE INTIMIDATION OF EMPLOYEES TO FORCE THEM TO JOIN A UNION, OR THE USE OF VIOLENCE, TERRORISM, OR SIT-DOWN STRIKES.

For many years the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce has advocated in this community industrial freedom which recognizes the right of an employee to join or not to join a union or other organization for collective bargaining. Accordingly, we have opposed the closed shop, preferential hiring, and the check-off. These policies are completely in accord with the provisions of the Wagner Act.

The important factor for us to preserve in this community is the open shop, for only by this means is the right of freedom of choice preserved to the employee to belong or not to belong to a union or other organization for collective bargaining. It is of vital importance also to prevent the system of preferential hiring and the check-off from obtaining a foothold in this community. These constitute direct invasions of the powers of management and subject employer and employee alike to racketeering activities of unscrupulous labor leaders.

No Requirement of Closed Shop

It should be noted that even though all of the employees in an establishment affiliate with a union, this is far from being identical with the closed shop. As long as the closed shop is not established, employees may subsequently resign from the union, if they should be dissatisfied with its operation, and the employer is free to employ non-union employees when vacancies occur.

It is of the utmost importance to preserve in all institutions the principle of the open shop, even though all of the employees may join a union. The fact that an employee may resign from a union or that non-union workers may be employed to fill vacancies is a salutary protection to employer and employee alike against arbitrary, oppressive, or capricious conduct of the union. Practically all of the vices that have attended union labor operations have arisen from the closed shop, preferential

hiring, or the check-off. When these conditions do not obtain, the unions must depend upon their own merits to obtain membership lawfully and this is a healthy condition for all concerned.

These observations make it obvious that the Wagner Act decisions of the Supreme Court do not in any manner affect the effort being made in this community to maintain industrial freedom. If the employers and intelligent employees of Los Angeles will stand solidly together in support of the principles herein defined, we will successfully protect Los Angeles from the despotic domination of those who are now seeking to secure personal power by extending labor union influence.

Fight On!

(Article published in Southern California Business, May, 1937.)

Efforts of organizers to impose the closed shop on Los Angeles are becoming more intense and it is necessary that our citizens unite in more vigorous opposition to these activities. The purposes and strategy of these organizers in Los Angeles, as well as throughout the United States, have become entirely apparent.

The purposes are to force acceptance in progressive order of these conditions:

(a) The closed shop;

(b) The hiring hall, or preferential hiring;

(c) The check-off;

(d) Domination of industry, commerce, employer and employee, by labor bosses.

The strategy is to create a reign of terror for the purpose of accomplishing these objects and reducing employers and employees to a state of servility. Under the lash of these tactics employers and employees alike are to be forced to submit to the absolute decrees of dictators who propose to erect their autocratic thrones behind the disguise of union organization.

The fact that this program involves a brazen defiance of law and order and of established government should be ample warning to all citizens of the peril it portends and of the destructive consequences it involves. If successful, it would result in setting up a super-government, arbitrary and autocratic in nature, and dependent for support on terrorism. Call this Communism or Socialism, or what you will, it necessarily results that the pursuit of these policies would annul and overthrow democratic government as we enjoy it today. There is no place in a democracy for self constituted autocratic labor barons arbitrarily ruling employers and employees with terrorism. The two orders cannot exist side by side in the same country.

Citizens of Los Angeles must look this prospect squarely in the face. We are confronted with a carefully devised campaign involving all of the elements above related and leading inevitably to the results stated. We must not delude ourselves with the thought that there is any point in this program at which its sponsors will voluntarily cease aggression and rest content. It is manifest that somewhere along the line it will be necessary

to resist the program with every resource. The sensible thing to do is to check it before it starts. Every concession made to those conducting this activity and every advantage obtained by them makes it just that much more difficult to successfully resist the ultimate accomplishment of the entire program.

The point at which we should take our stand is clearly defined. We should properly accept collective bargaining and properly concede the right of any worker to voluntarily join a union or any organization for collective bargaining. We should stand firmly against the use of force, violence, intimidation and terrorism and steadfastly refuse any concession based on such tactics. We should likewise firmly resist every endeavor to establish the closed shop or to force acceptance of any other of the elements of the program hereinbefore outlined.

Above all, employers and employees alike who believe in the right of a man to work without dictation or tyranny should extend every cooperation and assistance to any one of their number who may be the object of these attacks.

The Merchants and Manufacturers Association should be supported liberally as an institution effectively designed to deal efficiently with these problems. Its officers are vigorous, courageous, intelligent and self-sacrificing in the performance of the responsibilities they have assumed.

The pending crisis demands determined and effective action. The battle for freedom can, and will be, won.

FIGHT ON!

The Road to Ruin

(Article published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, May 24, 1937.)

Harry Dail, who is representing Dave Beck of Seattle, in control of the activities now being conducted in Los Angeles on behalf of the International Teamsters Union, recently stated in a private interview, in substance, that Los Angeles has heretofore enjoyed a great advantage from the open-shop conditions in this community and that the open-shop policy had contributed to the development of industry and commerce in Los Angeles. He said, however, that these days were past and that now the closed shop was to be established in Los Angeles and Los Angeles would no longer have an advantage in labor conditions over San Francisco, Portland, and Seattle. He further stated that henceforth there would be no inducement to industry to locate in Los Angeles and that the northern cities mentioned would obtain a larger share of industrial development on the Pacific Coast.

The statement of Mr. Dail that it is proposed to establish in Los Angeles the labor conditions that obtain in the other cities mentioned suggests that we compare the progress of Los Angeles with these other communities.

In the first quarter of 1937 the value of building construction in Los Angeles was $4,488,599 in excess of the first quarter in 1936. During the same period of 1937 the value of building construction in Seattle was $295,390 less than the value of building construction in Seattle in the first quarter of 1936.

In the year 1936 employment increased in Los Angeles County to the extent of 16.6% and wages increased 25.2%. Employment in San Francisco increased .9% and wages in San Francisco increased 6.6%. During the period from March, 1936, to March, 1937, employment in Los Angeles increased 21.8% and payrolls increased 33.9%. During the same period employment in San Francisco increased 5.5% and payrolls increased 17.3%.

Those statistics come from official sources and are irrefutable. They illuminate the depressing influence of closed shop conditions and the stimulating influence of open shop conditions.

Mr. Beck, under whose direction Mr. Dail works, has estab-

lished his domination of Seattle. Under that domination Seattle is slipping backward. Los Angeles, free from such domination, is making rapid forward strides. Now Mr. Beck and Mr. Dail propose to confer upon Los Angeles the same boon (?) that they have conferred upon Seattle. Their activities have marked the road of retrogression in Seattle. They would mark the road to ruin in Los Angeles. The comparative progress of the two communities indicates conclusively that with closed shop conditions established in Los Angeles there would be less employment and less wages paid than under the open shop conditions which now exist.

Force—Or Freedom?

(Article published in Southern California Business, June, 1937.)

We have heretofore enjoyed, in this community, the benefits of co-operative relations between employer and employee, under a system which has been commonly called industrial freedom.

The union activities now being conducted, in Los Angeles, and throughout the country, would eliminate industrial freedom, and substitute in its place a labor dictatorship.

Such a system would burden the employer, but it would be far more oppressive to the employee.

Industrial freedom involves rights of vital consequence to the employee—its definition and effect should be thoroughly understood by all.

Industrial freedom does *not* mean opposition to labor unions or collective bargaining.

But it does mean that a worker has, and shall be given, freedom to work without paying tribute, the right to employment independent of union approval, and protection against labor "rackets."

The alternative to industrial freedom is the closed shop, and as a general rule, in this country, labor unions have not been democratic where closed shop conditions prevailed.

No one has suffered more from such circumstances than the workers themselves. If an ambitious leader, or group, can obtain control of the union, the members become the prey of unjust exactions, without recourse.

There are always intelligent workers who appreciate these dangers, and oppose burning their bridges behind them by helping establish the closed shop.

It is generally imposed by extra-legal force, actual or threatened.

Few employers would willingly subject their employees to the hazards of tyranny by voluntarily establishing the closed shop.

It is manifest, therefore, that the choice between industrial freedom and the closed shop is the choice between government by the process of reason, and government by the force of terror.

If the force of terror becomes effective in controlling action, it will be continually used to effect greater concessions. Neither

employer nor employee will dare to oppose those who have the power to use this instrumentality.

The appetite for power is insatiable.

If we allow the force of terror at this time to undermine our established government, we will eventually be required to choose between democracy and despotism. And the choice may be much more difficult at that time than at the present.

We must steadfastly support all democratic institutions, and industrial freedom is such an institution.

It is an effective shield that protects the worker from the excesses of labor union leaders, which may become grossly oppressive under closed shop conditions.

It is an institution worthy of the support of employer and employee alike.

It represents the path of progress by the process of reason, as opposed to the path of retrogression by the force of terror.

A Lesson from Johnstown

(Article published in Southern California Business, July, 1937.)

On June 24, 1937, citizens of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, published in the New York Times a full page protest against the action of Governor Earle of Pennsylvania in using martial law to close the Cambria plant of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in Johnstown. In the course of this protest the citizens of Johnstown stated the facts as follows:

> "The present strike was called by the C. I. O. in spite of the fact that an overwhelming majority of Cambria workers did not want it. There was no dispute about wages, hours or working conditions. The Johnstown strike was entirely an organizing strike. It had as its object to force our workers to join the C. I. O.
>
> * * *
>
> Up until last Saturday the situation was this: The Cambria plant continued to operate, and those men who wished to work continued to do so. Those who wished to strike continued to picket in the manner prescribed by law.
>
> There was no serious disorder, and there was no prospect of any.
>
> The local authorities, with the cooperation of the State Police, were in full control of the situation.
>
> It was then announced that 40,000 mine workers, under the control of John L. Lewis, head of the C. I. O. and of the United Mine Workers, proposed to march on Johnstown and to hold a mass meeting at Faith Grove, just outside the city.
>
> This was the excuse offered by Governor Earle in justifying his orders to close down the Cambria plant and to declare martial law in the city.
>
> After his proclamation, after his affront to the citizens and local authorities of Johnstown, the Governor was able to persuade John L. Lewis to issue orders countermanding the invasion of Johnstown by 40,000 miners."

These proceedings in Johnstown challenge the attention of every citizen throughout the nation. They spectacularly reveal the tyranny and oppression with which much of the labor union activity in the United States today is conducted and they emphasize the fact that those who suffer most from such tyranny and

oppression are peaceful, industrious workers who desire only to pursue, unmolested, the occupation of earning a living for themselves and their families.

In the first place, an organizing strike is merely a polite name for an indefensible activity by which workers are bludgeoned, bulldozed and intimidated into joining a union and paying dues and assessments against their will. It is merely a transparent flag of piracy under which an organized minority makes open warfare upon a majority of workers who are unwilling voluntarily to join a union.

An organizing strike is directed not at the employer but at employees. It is a rank pretext under which irresponsible hoodlums intimidate and assault workers who seek to exercise their manifest right to work without paying tribute to a labor boss. It is clearly an unlawful operation and the quicker it is outlawed, the better it will be for all citizens who value law and order.

Now, consider the spectacle presented at Johnstown: A large majority of the workers did not favor the strike. The minority was making no headway by peaceful processes. It was then proposed that 40,000 mine workers, under the control of John L. Lewis, should march on Johnstown for the obvious purpose of intimidating the workers who were unwilling to accept the dictation of John L. Lewis. This in itself was an unjustifiable interference with the rights of these workers. Mr. Lewis, however, had the brazen effrontery to ask the Governor of Pennsylvania to close the Cambria plant with martial law so as to avoid the possibility of violence resulting from the unjust conduct which Mr. Lewis himself had encouraged and countenanced.

This would appear to be nothing more nor less than banditry on a large scale. The power of the state is invoked to turn workers out of lawful jobs because the action of those who are seeking to levy tribute upon the workers may result in violence. There would be just as much justification for a highwayman, bludgeoning a resisting victim, to call upon a police officer to make the victim surrender his wallet in order to stop the violence, and it would be just as reasonable if the police officer obligingly complied.

This happened in Johnstown last month. It can happen in Los Angeles next month unless law and order are strictly maintained and mass intimidation is promptly suppressed.

The Right to Work

(Article published in Southern California Business, August, 1937.)

We hear much today of many rights. The right of collective bargaining, the right to strike, the right to relief, the right to leisure, the right to the more abundant life, and other rights of similar nature are declaimed with vehemence by professional organizers and politicians everywhere.

What of the right to work? Have we not permitted this right to be too much obscured by the loud mouthings of those who engage in the racket of violating it? The right to work is one of the most sacred endowments of any citizen. It is described in the Declaration of Independence as inherent and unalienable. Its enjoyment is guaranteed by our Constitution. It has been the cornerstone of individual liberty for centuries. It must ever be kept foremost in mind when we think of social or economic relations.

The curtailment of this right by kings and monarchs has been regarded for thousands of years as one of the most obnoxious forms of tyranny. It is equally so today when attempted as a part of the program of ambitious labor barons.

The right to work necessarily means a right that may be exercised without the necessity of paying tribute to any private organization or of complying with conditions imposed by such organization. It would not be even a respectable privilege if it were subject to such restrictions. It means also the right to be protected against molestation and intimidation.

The right to work is a vital factor in the economic activity of any community. Experience has taught us the lesson of its value in this community. It is an indispensable adjunct to growth and progress. No matter what the cost of protecting it, we cannot afford to permit it to be impaired.

Collective bargaining does not mean that an employer can be compelled to close the door of employment to those who do not belong to a union and pay it dues and assessments. Neither does it mean that an employer can be compelled to require his employees, as a condition of continued employment, to join a union and pay tribute to its treasury.

Employers who make agreements with unions involving such stipulations thereby join in violating this essential right and imperil one of the fundamental factors upon which all business

activity in this community depends. Few employers would willingly make such concessions. Most of those who yield are coerced to do so. They might well consider whether peace so secured is worth the injury to the economic structure inflicted by such concessions. They should carefully consider also how they will meet the added coercion certain to attend each of the series of increasingly oppressive demands ultimately to follow. It is important to remember the lesson of history that once the power of force is established it invariably yields to no restraint save absolute and successful resistance.

Labor racketeers have been making too much progress in this community, as well as elsewhere throughout the country, under the guise of collective bargaining. The time has come to start a counter-offensive by intelligent employees, employers and consumers under the banner of the right to work. No one can successfully oppose allegiance to this right. No sensible person would dare do so openly. He would be swept away before the storm of public indignation certain to be aroused.

Labor racketeers are too wise to admit their purpose to impair this right. They avoid that issue while proceeding surreptitiously to undermine and destroy this right. In short, they are stealthily stealing the birthright of American workers.

Moreover, they are creating conditions certain to bring down upon their heads and upon the heads of complaisant employers the wrath of the consuming public. Employers do not pay wages. They merely distribute to employees what the public is willing to pay for the goods produced or services rendered, and the public cannot be coerced. When the effects of exorbitant wages and inefficient working conditions are felt by the public, sales resistance will bring about a collapse of the labor racketeering boom just as it did with the Florida land boom and the stock market boom of 1928.

For the good of every citizen in this community let us not be drawn into this whirlpool. Let us keep business activity in this section on a sound and secure foundation. That foundation includes adequate and complete recognition and protection of the right to work.

The High Cost of Working

(Article published in Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, August 23, 1937.)

Recently a delegation of employees from one of the motion picture studios called at the office of the Chamber of Commerce and presented the following situation:

Employment in this studio is wholly unionized. As a result, these employees were required to join the union. They were thereby required to pay dues of $3.00 a month apiece. After these conditions had been established, the union then levied an assessment of two per cent of the salary of the employees. All of the employees within the class affected, received salaries of more than $150.00 per month. Thus they are required to pay the union in excess of $6.00 per month. When some of the employees inquired of the union officials as to the purpose of the assessment, and the use that was to be made of the funds, they were summarily told to go to hell.

This delegation called to advise us that the employees affected resented this imposition, and desired to make an effective protest. They solicited the aid of the Chamber of Commerce for that purpose. There is little, however, that can be done to assist them. Under the conditions, they must either pay the dues and assessments, or lose their employment. Indeed, they have no protection against additional and increased assessments being imposed upon them.

The situation here presented forecasts a trend which may find expression in every type of business accepting the program of complete unionization. Employers who concede demands for the union or closed shop, thereby expose their employees to the raids of union assessments. Of course, in such instances, the unions, to maintain good standing with the employees, will find it necessary to make demands for salary increases to cover these exactions.

There is thus introduced into employment relationships, the intruded factor of union levies. The burden of national, state and local taxation has left business with a precariously narrow margin of profit on which to continue operations. The present campaign for unionization would subject that margin to the assault of union levies.

Progress of this campaign is certain to produce two distressing results:

First: The closing of many businesses unable to recoup the added costs, and consequent increase in unemployment;

Secondly: Advanced costs of goods and services to consumers, precipitating sales resistance and business stagnation.

The high cost of taxation has staggered business. The high cost of living is becoming a serious burden to the consumer. Neither can sustain the added factor of the high cost of working!

Can It Happen in Los Angeles?

(Pamphlet printed and circulated by Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, August 20, 1937.)

The question is frequently asked whether we will be able to preserve Los Angeles from the domination of the closed shop and labor racketeers. The answer will be found in the strength of the determination on the part of our citizens to maintain industrial freedom.

Assuredly we can do so IF the citizens of this community are willing to make contributions of money and service adequate to the occasion. The task at hand must not be minimized. An insidious revolution is in progress. Its presence is not evidenced by open warfare, but beneath the surface a subtle campaign is being conducted as destructive in purpose as an armed force moving in open defiance of the government.

We are confronted with action skillfully designed and executed to steal control over personal liberty and private property. All of the elements of classical revolution are present except that the technique is different. The processes of established government are deliberately defied. Law and order is contemptuously violated. Property rights are flagrantly invaded. Peaceful workers are brutally assaulted. Violence, vandalism, terrorism and intimidation are common occurrences. The clearly outlined objective is to subjugate all citizens, business and property to the dictation of tyrannical labor racketeers. The edicts of these racketeers, not the law, are to govern our economic relations and actions. These edicts are to be enforced, not by orderly process of law, but by summary brutality and mutilation of persons and property. Such are the methods now in practice and such are the purposes unmistakably revealed by the events spread before us.

The only difference between these activities and armed revolution is that in the latter case, results are sought by open mass movement and military force, whereas the present campaign proceeds by covert and stealthy infiltration.

Manifestly, a movement of this type is just as dangerous in purpose as an armed revolution and may require as much or more effort and sacrifice to defeat it. To date, the steps that have been taken are insufficient to adequately cope with the situation.

A handful of patriotic and self-sacrificing citizens in the Merchants and Manufacturers Association have been attempting to fight the battle of a great city. It is necessary that they be immediately reenforced in a most substantial manner. They must have much more of your financial support and much more of your participation in their activities.

This is no time to stand by and find fault with the efforts of these men. This is your battle and they are fighting it to the best of their ability. If you think they are not pursuing the proper policies, join them at the conference table and assist them. You will find them receptive. If the organization is not functioning to your satisfaction, you should enlist your cooperation to make it function better.

The Merchants and Manufacturers Association is designed to do this job and it is up to every citizen to see that it is properly staffed, financed and directed to do the job successfully.

There are many activities that should be initiated and prosecuted under the direction of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association at once. The following are mentioned by way of suggestion:

1. Provision should be made for a committee of citizens whose prestige will carry conviction, to conduct a campaign of education concerning the present activities. Our people know little of what is going on and appreciate its significance less. Such a campaign should involve the use of every available medium of publicity —the radio, bulletins widely distributed, and paid advertisements in the daily press. The influence of the newspaper guild makes it difficult, if not impossible, to fairly present the facts through the news columns of the press.
2. A union for the preservation of industrial freedom should be provided for the purpose of organizing workers who are opposed to the present campaign and who desire to preserve their right to work and their liberty of action. Man is a gregarious creature. He must have provision for associating with others of his kind, and this is particularly true when he is confronted with danger.
3. Guards and investigators should be employed and organized in sufficient number to track down and bring

to justice the miscreants now maintaining a reign of terror in this community by committing acts of brutality on individuals and acts of vandalism on property. It is of the utmost importance to suppress such lawlessness.

These and other activities which could be developed would speedily turn back the assault of the racketeers now being made on this community. They would involve, however, a much greater expenditure of money and effort than has heretofore been made.

The time has come for action. It is worthwhile to save Los Angeles, your business and your property, to say nothing of your personal liberty and that of your employees? This is for you to answer and your action will record your verdict.

Many indications encourage the belief that Los Angeles has not really begun to fight. If this be so, let us begin at once. The spirit of this city cannot be subdued if we manfully meet the responsibilities now thrust upon us.

The Closed Shop

(Article published in Southern California Business, November, 1937.)

The present labor agitation makes it necessary that employers and employees, and especially employees, carefully scrutinize the purpose and effect of the closed shop.

Labor leaders claim, in justification of the closed shop, that it is essential to enable the union to operate effectively and that it empowers the union to exercise a disciplinary control over employees necessary to secure performance of contracts which the union may make. This, in itself, is an admission of the true character of the closed shop as a weapon of coercion directed primarily against the very workers who are called upon to establish it.

Manifestly it is an agency of compulsion that operates against unwilling employees and deprives them of the freedom of action to which they are rightfully entitled. When established, its first effect is that employees, who in the exercise of free choice do not desire to join a union, are compelled to do so if they are to continue their employment. Its second effect is that employees, who have joined the union and found its practices or impositions objectionable, are deprived of their right to resign union membership without losing their employment. In other words, it compels an objecting employee to step into a union straightjacket and after he gets in, keeps him there against his will, all under penalty of loss of employment.

The very demand for the closed shop is a confession of weakness in union operation. It proceeds from the fear (or possibly knowledge) that the union will not prove of sufficient benefit to the employees to maintain their continued voluntary support. It is clearly a device used by union leaders to compel workers to support the union even though the workers are unwilling to do so voluntarily.

Unions today offer no assurance that they will act in accord with the wishes of their members. Officers frequently act without a vote of the members. Genuinely secret balloting is almost unknown. When votes are taken, most frequently only a minority is present and the conditions are such as to intimidate opposition. Operations and activities are usually controlled or dictated by bosses and the ordinary member must either follow orders or get out. As an example in point, witness the power

of Dave Beck over the teamsters union. It is a repetition of the old story of political bosses, except that in union affairs there are no regulations or restraints imposed by law for the benefit of the members, and hence there is practically no limit to the power that the union boss may exercise over the members. This condition makes the closed shop and the control it establishes over workers all the more dangerous to their welfare.

Much has been spoken and written of the hardship and injustice inflicted on employers by the closed shop. It does impair the efficiency of management and indirectly injures labor by retarding progress and reducing employment. These consequences should not be underestimated.

The closed shop, however, is aimed at the employee and not at the employer. It is of the utmost importance that this be clearly understood by every worker. The closed shop is an enticing net skillfully devised to ensnare the workers in the grip of those who dominate the union and to make escape impossible without loss of employment no matter how unjustly or unfairly the union may treat its members.

No employee can help himself or his fellows by any procedure which denies to himself or others the basic right to exercise freedom of choice in selecting employment or which destroys the freedom to join or not to join a union. The seed of corruption and abuse is sown in any union that depends for preservation upon the power to coerce its own members. The result of such an operation is certain in the ultimate to bring hardship and suffering to the very persons who in the first instance make it possible.

"Government of the People, by the People, for the People"?

(Article published in Southern California Business, December, 1937.)

The essential objects of Government are to define, protect and enforce the rights and duties of citizens, and to maintain peace, order and the security of life and liberty.

Our Government is designed to attain these objects by constitutional provision, and legislative enactments, and by the administration thereof by duly chosen public officials, sworn to support and enforce the Constitution and the law.

It is apparent that if our Government is to be maintained, private citizens must not be permitted to interfere with the rights and duties of other citizens as defined by law, or to enforce upon other citizens surrender of a right or observance of a duty contrary to the law.

Acts of this nature by a private citizen necessarily involve an invasion and destruction of the structure of the Government.

They set aside the established Government, and result in a rule of force attended by lawlessness and disorder.

* * *

During the past year this community has witnessed the desperate attempt of labor bosses to establish control over employees, employers and business.

The activity has proceeded under the pretense that it would benefit employees, but experience has shown that its purpose and effect is to shackle employees, and employers as well, with the rule of labor bosses.

The truth is that these bosses actually seek the power to dictate to employees when, and where, and upon what conditions, they shall be permitted to work.

Having usurped that power, they could then dictate to employers the policies to be pursued in the management of business.

All of which, it may be mentioned incidentally, would enable these bosses to munificently enrich themselves by exactions collected from employees and employers alike.

Attendant upon these activities, we have experienced a shocking reign of terrorism.

Vast numbers of inoffensive employees have been savagely

and cruelly assaulted, maimed and crippled by gangs of brutal thugs.

Wives and children have been threatened with kidnaping, death and physical injury.

Workers' homes have been seriously damaged by acts of wanton violence.

Property has been subjected to depredation and destruction by ruthless and rampant vandalism.

As a result of all of this, large numbers of employees have concluded that for the security of their families, their homes, and themselves, they must join a union and pay tribute to the bosses.

* * *

This situation squarely presents vital and pertinent questions.

How is this community to be governed?

Every citizen has the constitutional and natural right to work without hindrance or molestation.

Are labor bosses to be permitted to deny that right, and enforce their private edict that no one can work without joining a union and paying tribute?

Every citizen has the right to be protected by the Government against acts of violence.

Are labor bosses to continue as the beneficiaries of acts of violence and escape public condemnation?

Must citizens look to labor bosses for security against violence, and subject themselves to the dictation of these bosses in order to obtain that security?

Are rights and duties in labor relations to be determined by the law of the land or by orders imposed by labor bosses?

Labor relations are a subject of great importance, but these questions are of greater importance.

They rear themselves far above the relations from which they arise. They involve the very foundation, the existence, and the stability of our government.

* * *

Let us have the intelligence and courage to recognize the issue which now confronts us in grave reality.

Shall we maintain "government of the people, by the people, for the people," or shall we allow it to be filched away from us,

and accept in substitution, government of labor bosses, by labor bosses, for labor bosses?

American citizens worthy of our national heritage can give but one answer to that issue.

It is the immediate and paramount duty of every citizen to make certain that the answer is given quickly and decisively.

Public Government and private Government cannot exist at the same time in the same community.

The past year has presented what was in reality the struggle for supremacy between government of the people and labor boss government.

That contest must be speedily terminated.

The demand is urgent that the full authority of duly constituted government be re-established at once. The necessity of united citizen action is now apparent.

To provide a facility for such action, a non-profit corporation has been organized, named Southern Californians, Inc.

Many citizens have already joined it.

Its officers and directors are leaders in this community.

It provides the opportunity for citizens to unite in support of the administration of duly constituted government.

Mr. Frank Partridge, Room 1001, Title Guarantee Building, telephone MIchigan 0218, is the executive secretary of this organization.

Further information and details can be secured from him, or from this Chamber of Commerce.

(Address at meeting at Biltmore Hotel called by Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Merchants and Manufacturers Association, and Southern Californians, Inc., December 13, 1937.)

The past year in this community has marked a period of labor turbulence arising from a sinister invasion of union racketeering which has sought to dominate the community. Violence, disorder and intimidation have been the implements with which this invasion has progressed. The menacing aspect of these activities has increasingly become more portentous with the result that an exceedingly grave situation has been created.

Within the past two weeks an assault of terrorism has been made upon the employees of one of our large retail merchants. Other retailers, sensing the common danger to their employees, united for common defense and exhibited an attitude of valor which deserves recognition by the citizens of this community. To express such recognition and to consider plans for defense against this common peril to all citizens, you have been requested to assemble at this luncheon today.

It should be said at the outset that we have invited public officials to be present today as our guests and have been honored with their attendance. It must be recognized that they are here solely in the capacity of guests and are not expected to participate, or take any part, in the proceedings of this meeting.

The disturbances of the past year were initiated with the drive to compel truck drivers in this community to join the teamsters' union. There was no strike among these truck drivers and no labor trouble between them and their employers. Nevertheless a gang of approximately 200 mercenary pickets was deployed on the docks at the harbor. Of these less than 35 per cent had ever worked as truck drivers and of this percentage only a small number had ever worked as truck drivers in this community. They were, in fact, a motley crew of predatory aggressors employed for the purpose of carrying on this assault against the freedom of the truck drivers of this community.

Truck drivers were told by these so-called pickets that if they were to bring trucks to the docks they must either join the teamsters' union or suffer dire consequences. Simultaneously goon squads of organized thugs demonstrated the dire consequences by brutally assaulting independent truck drivers on the highways, frequently inflicting serious personal injury and destroying freight and equipment. This lawlessness, it must be said with humiliation and burning indignation, was carried to

the point where our truck drivers found it necessary, as a measure of self protection, to join the union.

As a result, these docks, built by the people of Los Angeles with public funds and designed for the benefit of every citizen, have been converted into an instrumentality of special privilege for the benefit of the teamsters' union.

At a later date the same tactics were employed against Pacific Freight Lines. There was no strike among the employees of that company and no labor trouble. Again, as in the case at the docks, although the employees were working peacefully and no demands had been made on the employer, a gang of mercenary pickets appeared one morning, without previous notice, at the yard of the company and proceeded to use threats and intimidation to force the employees to join the teamsters' union.

Out of approximately 700 employees about 70 joined the pickets and the remainder continued steadfastly and loyally at work.

Again the goon squads of organized thugs went into action. Employees were brutally assaulted and cruelly maimed and injured. Their wives and children were threatened. Loads of freight were destroyed. Men were stationed on the Ridge Route with rifles to shoot at passing oil tank trucks. After an extended period of stubborn resistance these employees too were forced to join the teamsters' union as a measure of self protection.

Within the past three weeks a similar campaign under similar circumstances was launched against the warehouse men and truck drivers of The May Company for the purpose of compelling them to join the teamsters' union. In the meantime an infinite number of similar operations have been conducted against smaller groups of employees in other enterprises in Los Angeles County. All followed the same pattern and involved the use of the same tactics and methods.

As evidence of the extended field in which these activities have been conducted, I may mention that at the present time a campaign of the same type is in progress against the automobile salesmen of this city to compel them to join (of all things!) the teamsters' union!

The most recent aggression was started last Thursday morning when, without warning and without any trouble or dispute between employer and employees, a group of approximately

200 pickets was thrown around the plant of the Weber Show Case and Fixture Company in this city.

In most instances the attack has been made upon a single enterprise, the evident theory being that a single unit cannot successfully withstand such operations, that patronage will be diverted to competitors, and that a wedge having been driven in this manner, the entire group will eventually be brought to submission. Unfortunately the strategy all too frequently has been successful.

These activities have seemingly gained much ground during the past year, but something else has been gaining ground too and that something is a rising tide of public indignation and resentment which is rapidly assuming proportions that promise the complete elimination of this type of racketeering from this community.

An intelligent appreciation of the peril of these racketeering tactics and the courage to resist them has been gaining ground too. The tangible evidence of this is to be found in the stand that has been taken by our retail merchants. They were quick to realize that the attack on The May Company was in truth a salient directed at all retail merchants.

It was an act of brave leadership for these merchants to openly take a united and bold position against these racketeering activities and they deserve the commendation and gratitude of the citizens of this community. Their public announcements have constituted ringing declarations of freedom, in support of which all citizens should enthusiastically unite.

These establishments are represented here today. Let us acclaim their action and pledge them our united support in the valiant attitude they have exhibited.

It is not the purpose of this meeting to create or express any sentiment against legitimate unions or against legitimate union activities. The right of employees to join a union or to engage in collective bargaining is fundamental and must be recognized by all. By the same token the right of employees to work free from molestation without the necessity of joining a union is equally fundamental and must also be recognized by all. The choice is for each employee to make and absolute freedom in making that choice must be protected. The invasion of that freedom of choice, especially when it assumes the form of compelling an employee by physical force and intimidation

to join a union and pay an initiation fee, dues or assessments, is one of the most vicious forms of racketeering.

The right of employees to strike for better pay or to secure better working conditions must be conceded and respected by all, but the right of other employees to continue working is of equal importance and must also be conceded and respected by all.

The use of a limited number of pickets to make known the existence of a strike is defended by the unions as a necessary privilege. Without extended discussion of that claim, we may observe that certainly there is no right to use the public streets and sidewalks for any such private purpose. If the activity is to be justified at all, it must be as a privilege and only for the limited object mentioned.

When pickets are massed in such numbers or conduct themselves in such manner as to intimidate workers or patrons, any possible privilege ceases and the law should speedily condemn this wrongful violation of essential rights of citizens. The use of mercenary pickets, too, as exhibited in the activities at the docks, against Pacific Freight Lines, and in other campaigns of aggression, has been demonstrated by experience to be a vicious practice. Moreover, when pickets are used where no labor trouble exists for the purpose of compelling an employer to force his employees into a union or to compel employees by intimidation to join a union, the activity constitutes a viciously wrongful aggression that can only be adequately described as high handed racketeering.

The activities of goon squads, which are in reality organized gangs of thugs, are essentially criminal and present a challenge to law enforcement officers and to the authority of duly established government.

The critical aspects of the present situation may be summarized as follows:

1. The attempt to force acceptance of the closed shop. This would deprive workers of the natural and constitutional right to work and invest unions with the special privilege of a labor monopoly.
2. The abuse of picketing activities, involving the wrongful use of pickets for purposes of intimidating employees and the general public and as an instrumentality of racketeering operations.

3. The long continued activity of goon squads representing a brazen defiance of law and order and the resort to terrorism in an attempt to supplant the legal relations established by duly constituted government with the edicts of bossism.

These aspects are far more serious than ordinary problems of labor relations. The truth is, that we are engaged in a contest to determine whether this community is to continue to be governed by a public government responsible to all of the people, or by a private government of labor bosses founded on force and terrorism.

Every citizen has the constitutional and natural right to work without hindrance or molestation. Are labor bosses to be permitted to deny that right and enforce their private edict that no one can work without joining a union and paying tribute?

Every citizen has the right to be protected by the government against acts of violence. Are labor bosses to continue as the beneficiaries of acts of violence, and escape public condemnation? Must citizens look to labor bosses for security against violence, and subject themselves to the dictation of these bosses in order to obtain that security? Are rights and duties in labor relations to be determined by the law of the land or by orders imposed by labor bosses?

The ultimate issue, presented in grave reality, is: Shall we have "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" or shall we have government of labor bosses, by labor bosses, for labor bosses?

There can be but one response to the problems and situation now presented and that is united action by all citizens to support law and order and the authority of duly constituted government.

The abuses that have developed must be definitely stopped. The lawlessness that has become a common practice must be promptly suppressed. The threat to governmental authority must be decisively eliminated.

It will require the concerted action of citizens to accomplish these results. The gravity of the situation summons your cooperation. For the past year increasing numbers of our citizens have been studying the progress of events with growing concern. As a result of their deliberations a facility for united citizen action has been provided in the form of a non-profit corpora-

tion which they have organized, with the name Southern Californians, Inc.

A large and representative group of citizens and business enterprises have already united through membership in this corporation. A statement of its principles and the names of its present officers has been placed at your table. Doubtless you have already examined it. It is proposed to have additional directors and officers as the membership expands so that those who direct this activity will always be representative of its membership. No one has anything in the nature of personal profit or advantage to gain by asking you to join this organization or by your action in so doing. But you have much to gain by uniting with other citizens to resist the grave menace that now threatens the entire community.

No doubt it would be of interest to you to be advised of the plans and strategy to be pursued. For manifest reasons it would not be wise to reveal such plans or strategy at this time. The character of the men who constitute the board of directors should assure you of perfectly lawful and effective policies. These men have given much time and deliberate study to the plans and procedure to be followed. We have developed definite plans, some of which are already in execution and other tentative plans which we hope to perfect and put into execution as soon as circumstances will permit.

I may say for your information at this time, however, that the activities of this organization will not interfere with, or supplant or duplicate, the work of the Chamber of Commerce or of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. There is a vast field in which this organization can carry on a much needed work, comprehensive in nature and far reaching in effect.

The financial participation of members required at the present may seem heavy, but it is not large compared with the serious nature of the situation confronting us or the magnitude of the task to be accomplished. We are informed that Dave Beck's teamsters' union has approximately one-half million dollars at hand available to carry on the activities in which it is engaged. We must be prepared to more than match that effort, not in type of activity, to be sure, but certainly in effectiveness. It will not do any good to have just another organization. We must utilize this opportunity to create a movement of crusading

citizens and this can be done only with the participation of all of you and other citizens similarly situated.

You who have been assembled today have been selected because it was felt that you would want to be among the foremost to unite in this movement. If you do so, we shall proceed to summon other groups of citizens. If you do not do so, it will be futile to proceed further. The grave situation existing is before you. The opportunity for effective, united action is presented to you. The decision is for you to make.

UHT. B12, 0225

HAYNES CORPORATION, *Printers*